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Papers in Italian Archaeology VII

# The Archaeology of Death

Proceedings of the Seventh Conference of Italian  
Archaeology held at the National University of  
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edited by

Edward Herring and  
Eóin O'Donoghue

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*For the Accordia Research Institute*



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# Infancy and urbanization in central Italy during the Early Iron Age and beyond

Francesca Fulminante

## Summary

A relatively large number of studies have dealt with *suggrundaria* ('under eaves burials') in Early Iron Age *Latium vetus*, while infancy in the funerary studies of central Italy has received generally less attention in the past as a specific topic of study. However things are changing rapidly in this field and infancy and childhood is becoming an important focus of Italian prehistoric and classical archaeology. Urbanization in Pre-Roman and Roman Italy on the other hand is a well-known and much studied phenomenon, whose effects have shaped the features of modern Western civilizations. Probably because of gendered biases the two themes have always remained separate and not connected. This paper for the first time will show how urbanization has changed the representation of children in burial practices and has affected mothers' infant feeding practices; and will indicate how vice-versa infant feeding practices can affect the development of urban societies. In this way it will open new research agenda for urbanization and infancy studies in Pre-Roman and Roman Italy.

## Riassunto

Un ampio numero di studi si sono occupati dei *suggrundaria* ('sepulture sotto le grondaie'), tipiche del *Latium vetus* durante la Prima età del Ferro; l'infanzia tuttavia come tema specifico nell'ambito dell'archeologia funeraria italiana in passato ha ricevuto limitata attenzione. Tuttavia il panorama degli studi sta cambiando rapidamente e l'infanzia e la fanciullezza stanno diventando temi importanti dell'archeologia preistorica e classica Italiana. L'urbanizzazione invece è un tema ben conosciuto e ampiamente dibattuto, i cui effetti hanno influenzato lo sviluppo della civiltà Occidentale fino ai tempi moderni. Probabilmente anche per divisioni di genere nelle moderne discipline i due temi sono sempre rimasti separati e scarsamente connessi. Questo articolo per la prima volta mostra come l'urbanizzazione ha influenzato il modo in cui l'infanzia viene rappresentata nel record funerario e il modo in cui le madri hanno scelto di nutrire i loro bambini; e suggerisce come cambiamenti nelle pratiche di alimentazione infantile possono influenzare lo sviluppo di intere società. In questo modo apre nuove prospettive di ricerca sia per il tema dell'urbanizzazione che dell'archeologia infantile nell'Italia pre-Romana e Romana.

**Keywords:** infancy; childhood; Italy; Mediterranean; urbanization

## Introduction

The period between the Final Bronze Age/beginning of the Early Iron Age and the end of the Archaic Age is a time of changes and developments in the Italian Peninsula which led to the creation of regional ethnic and political groups and to the formation of the first city-states in Western Europe. This process of urbanization has been deeply investigated and the changes occurred in the settlement organization, political structure, economy and society have been largely recognised and debated. However, changes that affected society at a deeper and more intimate level, such as family history and children and women lives, have been rarely considered.

A great deal of research has been spent on infancy and family history in Roman Italy and the Roman world (see e.g. Dixon 1988, 2001; Rawson 1992, 1997, 2003, 2011; Diddle Uzzi 2005; Backe-Dahmen 2006, 2008; Dasen 2009, 2015; Dasen and Spath 2010; Carroll 2011, 2012; Graham 2013, 2014 and from a bio-archaeological

perspective for example Gowland and Redfern 2010, 2011), but relatively less attention has been paid to infancy and childhood in Pre-Roman Italy (exceptions Brandt 1996; Teegen 1997; Becker 2006, 2007, 2011; Nizzo 2011; Perego and Jarva and Lipkin in Beaumont *et al.* 2017 and Di Lorenzo *et al.* in press) apart from the well-known phenomenon of infant burials among houses (*suggrundaria*) in Early Iron Age *Latium vetus* (Gjerstadt 1954; Bietti Sestieri and De Santis 1985; Modica 1993, 2007; Brandt 1996; Roncoroni 2000; De Santis *et al.* 2007-2008; van Rossenberg 2008).

By focusing on infant and children burials in *Latium vetus* and central Italy during the early Iron Age (Fulminante and Stoddart, 2017) and then by looking at feeding practices in the Mediterranean between Prehistory and the Middle Ages (Fulminante, 2015), this paper will show the interaction between two topics, infancy and urbanization, that are traditionally separated and not connected in scholarship, and will suggest a new research agenda for these areas of study in Pre-Roman and Roman Italy.

## Representation of Infancy and Urbanization in central Italy during the Early Iron Age

Archaeologists today are well aware of the issues concerning the analysis of burial practices and the ideological and ritual biases that might affect the interpretation of burial practices (Morris 1987; Parker Pearson 1999; and Cuozzo 1996; Fulminante 2003, 7-19; Nizzo 2015, 220-286, with reference to central Italian archaeology). However, with particular reference to *Latium vetus*, and central Italy in general, during the Early Iron Age and the Orientalizing Period, while communities are not always fully represented from a demographic point of view, the social persona of the deceased is represented through the deposition of accompanying grave goods.

This is confirmed by the contrasting evidence of the Archaic Period in *Latium vetus* when grave goods are drastically reduced or completely absent. This simplicity has been convincingly interpreted by Giovanni Colonna as an ideological choice codified in the law of the Twelve Tables by the end of the 7th or the first half of the 6th century BC by Tarquinius Priscus or at the latest Servius Tullius, who wanted to contrast the lavish Etruscan funerary customs with an ideal of austerity and frugality modelled on the old egalitarian communal ideology of the Latin Patres (Colonna 1977 and more recently Bartoloni *et al.* 2009).

In order to detect changes in the perception of infancy and childhood in Early Iron Age *Latium vetus*, Etruria (Fig. 1) and other central Italian regions the demographic representation of infant and child burials within the community and the association between grave goods and age classes has been studied and a number of patterns have been identified. Following the important study on Osteria dell'Osa by Anna Maria Bietti Sestieri the analysis conducted in this study has adopted the following age classes: young children between 0 and 5 years of age were included in the class of infants; while the class of children is reserved to individuals between 6 and 11 years of age; young individuals between 12 and 19 years of age were grouped in the class of adolescents; while individuals between 20 and 40 years of age were considered adults; individuals above 40 years of age were considered elderly. In addition, infants and children were grouped in the general category of sub-adults, while adolescent, adults and elderly were grouped together as adults (Bietti Sestieri 1992, 222-223).

### *Latium Vetus*

In the earliest phase of the Latin culture (Latial Period I, 1050/1025-950/925 BC) only the most prominent members of society, such as the chief endowed with religious and political power, had access to formal burials. These were within small groups of between

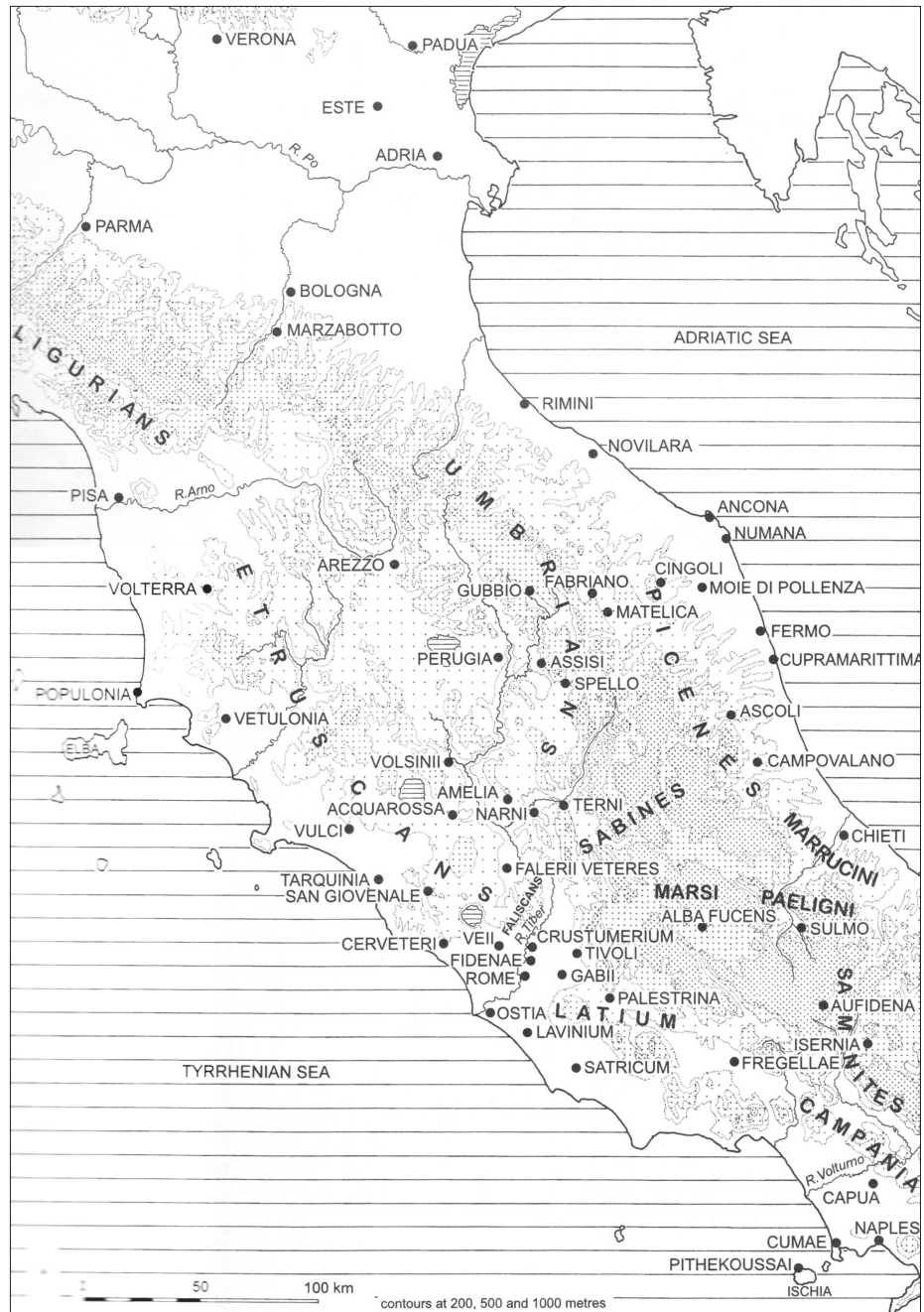
a few and sometimes up to 20 burials. Among these child and infant burials are virtually absent, apart from exceptional cases, such as Le Caprine Tomb 5 (2 year old female) equipped with spinning and weaving instruments, many ornaments including bone and ivory combs and numerous vases. These exceptional individuals might have been granted burial rites because of their hereditary status (Fulminante and Stoddart 2017 with previous references).

In Latial Period IIA-IIB (950/925-850/825 BC) children start to be buried in formal burial cemeteries together with adults, but they are greatly underrepresented (in the all *Latium* they represent less than 15-20% of the total and at Osteria dell'Osa they are also strongly underrepresented (M.J. Becker in Bietti Sestieri 1992, 60). In this phase infant burials, generally do not indicate gender or role (with this term I mean a link with an activity socially recognised without implication of status, considered as a position in the social hierarchy, but sometimes implying gender such as weapons and *fibulae* for males and spinning and weaving instruments in female burials (compare Pacciarelli 2001, 218). Child burials might sometimes contain indicators of sex or role, such as *fibula serpeggiante* (male) and spindle whorl (female in Latial period IIB). Female infant and children burials have generally at least one fibula and in Latial period IIA many ornaments (Fig. 1). Most common types of pottery in infant and child burials of this time are cups and bowls and liquid containers such as *orcio* or *amphora* (Fulminante and Stoddart 2017).

With the late Latial period IIB and more clearly in Latial Period III in *Latium vetus* infant burials below the age of three-four are buried among houses within the settlement area. According to most scholars this phenomenon (the so called *suggrundaria* by ancient authors) was the way in which aristocratic families affirmed their ownership on a plot or piece of land (Bietti Sestieri and De Santis 1985; De Santis *et al.* 2007-2008; Modica 1993, 2007). According to a different interpretation this was an act of structured deposition with a strong domestic connotation in which domestic and communal identities were negotiated (van Rosenberg 2008). Finally according to Roncoroni this might have been the costume at the origin of the cult of Lares and Penates in the Roman religion (Roncoroni, 2000). During Latial Period III and IVA (850/825-640/630 BC) infant and children buried in *Latium vetus* do not represent at any time more than 20% of the total while in Latial Period IVB (640/630-580 BC) they rise to about 30% (Fulminante and Stoddart 2017).

During these phases, infant burials have generally no indication of role and only exceptional burials might have weapons (male), a spindle whorl (female) or a knife (both). Child burials, on the other hand might have occasional indicators of sex or role such as *fibula*

Figure 1. Central Italy  
(from Bradley *et al.* 2007).



*serpeggiante* or weapons (male) and spindle whorl (female) or knife (both). Since Latial Period III it is common to find in infant and children burials bracelets and pendants, especially of the bulla type. Similarly, to the earlier periods most common types of pottery in infant and children burials are cups and bowls and liquid containers such as *amphora*; in Latial Period IVB the aryballos is very common (Fulminante and Stoddart 2017).

### Etruria

In Etruria, at Tarquinia and Veii very young children (below 5 years of age) are strongly underrepresented

and particularly in Veii infants below 3 years of age are virtually absent (see Fulminante and Stoddart 2017 with references). Role indicators are generally absent in infant and children (?) burials at Tarquinia. However, sometimes status indicators are present: for example infant Impiccato Tomb 73 (IB2/IIA1) has weaving instruments; or Arcatelle Tomb 14 (IIA), possibly a very young female from the measure of her small jewellery, has even a belt generally associated with married women or women of higher status. As suggested by Iaia in similar cases it is the membership of a social group rather than the age group that determined the funerary ritual (Iaia 1999, 62). As noted by Zifferero often infant burials are associated with a bronze *sistrum* and from



period II, infant burials of higher status are associated with the *bulla* (Zifferero, 1995).

In his study of the cemetery of Veii, Quattro Fontanili, Pacciarelli identifies three different social levels represented within the buried community, with infants and children present in all three (see below Table 1 and Pacciarelli 2001: 267-271). Female infants and children seem not to have had gender or role indicators, apart from ornaments; some male children had a fibula *arco serpeggiante* while some male infants and children of exceptional status had weapons. In particular, Tomb HH 6-7 containing two male children, dated to the mid/late eighth century BC, was remarkable for the presence of weapons, an axe, a razor (possibly a paternal offering), a spit, many vases, including a bronze basin and female ornaments (possibly a maternal offering). Again, as observed by Nizzo, many of the objects were broken and 'killed', probably on the basis that they were indicating a potential status inherited by birth, but not yet achieved (Nizzo 2011: 62-63).

#### Pontecagnano

While infant and children are strongly underrepresented in the earlier phases of the Early Iron Age, with the Orientalizing period they start to be represented in nearly normal percentages (about 50% common in pre-industrial societies), with infants being the highest.

In the earlier phases (9th and 8th centuries BC) at the Picentino cemetery an important 11-year-old girl's burial contained a rare distaff (Tomb 2057) and an infant burial contained scaraboids. At the Pagliarone cemetery children and adolescent males seem to have no indicator of gender or role; while females sometimes have a spindle whorl or ornaments in Phase IA (950/925-900 ca. BC), and are indicated by a fibula but not spindle whorls in Phase IB (900 ca.-850/825 BC).

With the advent of the Orientalizing Age an important threshold seems to be represented by 3-4 years of age, especially in the Chiancone cemetery. Generally infants below 3-4 years of age, (Ina Casa, Chiancone and Via Piacenza Posidonia) have no indication of gender or role. Commonly they have ornaments

such as shells, pendants, beads or little rings. In the Chiancone cemetery infant burials (up to 3-4 years) can have the Southern Irpino pottery service (amphora with complex handles, jug with trumpet shaped neck, feeding-cup, cup, bowl with complex handle), which they had in common with their mothers (Cuozzo 2003: 205). In this cemetery children above 3-4 years can have gender ornaments (fibula *arco serpeggiante* for male; rich parure for female, Cuozzo 2003).

Both in the Chiancone cemetery and the Via Piacenza and Via Posidonia cemetery some exceptionally rich children burials (Chiancone: 5867, 5870, 5910, 5929 males and 5909 and 5947 females; and Via Piacenza/Via Posidonia: 575, 463, 4484 and 6870 males; 4692, 579 and 6928 females; and 563 undetermined) might have both status indicators together with gender and role indicators: bronze vessels, imports, weapons in male burials and knives in female burials (Cuozzo 2003).

#### Pithekoussai

At Pithekoussai, the Greek emporium founded by Euboian colonists from Eretria and Chalcis around the middle of the eighth century BC, the ratio of adults to infants-children was about 50%, which means that it was fully representative of the living community (Nizzo 2007: 27). Cremations were generally reserved for adults, but some cases of child cremation are found. Inhumation was generally reserved for infants and children, and rarely used for adults and then for those mainly of lower status; *enchytrismos* burials in particular were reserved for infants and represent between 10% and 30% of all inhumations in different periods (Nizzo, 2007: 27-28).

Similarly, to adult burials, infant and child burials contained indicators of sex, role and status. Tomb 656, containing the remains of a nine-month-old male infant, was particularly exceptional, because the deceased was buried in a wooden coffin under a tumulus, with many vases and precious ornaments and had a kotyle in his hand as if he was mimicking a symposium (Nizzo, 2011: 69-71). In this way the child would complete his ritual passage to adult life that was precluded to him by premature death (Nizzo, 2011: 75). Infants and children

Status	Adult Male	Adult Women	Infant/ Children Male	Infant/ Children Female
Level 1	Sword, two spears, prestige items	Spools, distaff, amber necklace	Spear and prestige items	Bracelets and many ornaments
Level 2	Razor, and/or helmet shaped cinerary lid, <i>fibula serpeggiante</i>	Spindle whorl and <i>fibulae</i>	<i>fibula serpeggiante</i> sometime with knife	Numerous glass beads
Level 3	Only few pots		Only few glass beads	

Table 1. Status classes identified by Pacciarelli at the necropolis of Quattro Fontanili in Veii.

were often associated with amulets and scaraboids and some infants were buried with feeding bottles.

### **Abruzzo (Picenes)**

In Early Iron Age and Orientalizing period Abruzzo, infant and child burials were generally underrepresented, but in the later cemetery of Campovalano the percentage of infants increased dramatically in comparison with the older cemetery of Fossa. In the Fossa cemetery (9th – 7th century BC) and in the later phase of the Campovalano cemetery (Archaic Period), tumuli were also used for infant and child burials while in other cemeteries of the region and other periods they were reserved for male adults (Cosentino *et al.* 2001; Chiaramonte Trere' *et al.* 2010: 4-5). Also at the Fossa cemetery, there seems to have been a distinction made for children under four to six years of age who generally had no pottery (however, the numbers are so few that they are not statistically significant).

While gender indicators such as weapons in male graves and ornaments in female graves seem to have been in use, female burials never had spinning or weaving tools (Cosentino *et al.* 2001: 455-456). At the later cemetery of Campovalano infant burials below three to four years of age were generally marginalised and placed between adults' tumuli and seem to have had no role and gender indicators apart from exceptionally rich burials. Children above four years of age received the same ritual as adults (Chiaramonte Trere' *et al.* 2010: 2-5).

### **Infant Feeding Practices and Urbanization in the Mediterranean from Prehistory to the Middle Ages**

In a recent study, I conducted on infant feeding practices in the Mediterranean from Prehistory to the Middle Ages it was possible to identify some interesting trends which seem to associate urban societies with the earliest cessation of breastfeeding and a shorter duration of weaning. Results from that study are summarised below.

#### **Prehistory**

The Neolithic literary sources from the Mediterranean area (Egyptian Papyri, Babylonian records and Biblical passages) indicate that children completed weaning by 2-3 years of age. This is consistent with most bio-archaeological data from Eastern Mediterranean and European sites with the exception of the Meuse Basin in Belgium (in the Middle Neolithic) and Aşikli Höyük and Çatal Höyük in Turkey where breastfeeding ceased by 2 years of age. In addition, in those two sites in Turkey, a region characterized by early urbanization, the weaning time seems to be much shorter than in continental Europe, respectively between 10 months

and 1 year and 6 months, against about 2 years and a half (Fulminante 2015, figs 3-4).

During the Bronze and Iron Age information about ages of cessation of breastfeeding and duration of weaning are missing from the literary sources. During the Bronze Age both in Greece and Continental Europe solid food is introduced by 4-6 months of age and weaning is completed by 2-3 years of age. At Wetwant, an Iron Age site in UK, complementary food is introduced at 1 year and breastfeeding is ceased by 2.5 years. During this time, generally characterized by pre and proto-urban societies, both in the Mediterranean (Greece) and continental Europe (Poland), bio-archaeological data seem to indicate quite prolonged weaning times lasting between ca 1.5/2 and 2.5 years (Fulminante, 2015, figs 5-6).

#### **Roman Times**

While scarce bio-archaeological evidence is available for breastfeeding practices in the Mediterranean during Hellenistic and Classical times, in the Roman Age there seem to be an interesting difference between the centre of the Empire and the periphery (although data are too scarce to have statistical significance). At the centre of the Empire, at Isola Sacra near Rome, the weaning process is rather abrupt and lasts between about 1 year and 2-2.5 years. In the provinces instead it seems to start slightly earlier, around 6 months and lasts slightly later, up to three years. Very cautiously it could be said that the centre of the empire seems to follow Soranus (early 2nd century AD), who suggests a cessation of breastfeeding around 2 years of age, while in the provinces Galenus (late 2nd century BC) seems to be more popular with a suggested age for completed weaning around 3 years of age (from Fulminante 2015 with references and figs 7-8).

A more gradual cessation of breastfeeding has been already noted for Roman Britain as opposed to Rome in a study by Powell and others (Powell *et al.* 2014). Differently Leptiminus, another vibrant Roman port-city in Tunisia, seems to have a shorter weaning time, although the age of introduction of complementary food at this site is not precisely established (Keenleyside *et al.* 2009). Later, in the Early Christian Era Rome, with the community of St. Callistus Catacomb, is slightly ambiguous with a late cessation of breastfeeding between 3 and 4 years of age but a rather short weaning time starting surprisingly at about 2+? years (Rutgers *et al.* 2009).

#### **Byzantine and Medieval Ages**

In the Byzantine and Medieval period bio-archaeological data and literary sources seem to highlight a difference between Eastern Mediterranean regions

and continental Europe. In fact bio-archaeological data indicate that in the Eastern Mediterranean a more prolonged and possibly gradual weaning process (unfortunately there is not information about the introduction of complementary food), with completion of weaning between 3 and 4 years of age. While in continental Europe, weaning seems to be much shorter, lasting between 6 months and 1.5 years, sometime 2 years (Fulminante, 2015 with references and figs 9-10).

It seems that the Eastern Mediterranean followed provincial practices while Western Europe resurrected the practice already noted at the core of the Empire. Literary sources only partially agree with bio-archaeological data. In fact Byzantine and Arab physicians, repeating Soranus's prescriptions, indicate the completion of weaning around two years of age, while Eastern Mediterranean regions seem to reflect what is said in Byzantine Saints' lives where the cessation of breastfeeding happen around three years of age and sometime four (Bourbou *et al.* 2013). Another interesting trend that is possible to identify through bio-archaeological data is the distinction between the Early Middle Ages, with a cessation of breastfeeding between 3 and 4 years of age (remote Nubia, Turner *et al.* 2007; and Byzantine Greece, Barbou *et al.* 2013), and the Late Medieval urban societies of continental and Atlantic Europe with a cessation of breastfeeding between 2 and 3 year of age (with the addition of the city of Kastella in Crete, Barbou and Richards 2007; and the port of Dor in Israel, Sillen and Smith 1984; and the exception of Saint Laurent de Grenoble, Herrscher 2003 and Weinigumstadt, Dittmann and Grupe 2000; further details and references in Fulminante, 2015).

If the average age for the cessation of breastfeeding and the average duration of breastfeeding are plotted

against differences in socio-economic conditions, Figures 2 and 3 below show that urban and early urban societies seem to be associated with shorter weaning time and earlier cessation of breastfeeding when compared to pre-urban, proto-urban and late urban societies. With this term I refer to urbanism in Late Antiquity and Early Medieval times, which is generally characterised by the collapse of classical urbanism before the new birth of medieval urbanism in the 11th-12th centuries AD.

Already Haydock and other authors suggested that breastfeeding duration in Britain appears to have decreased with increased levels of urbanisation (Haydock *et al.* 2013: 609-610). Similarly, Howcroft in her study on infant feeding practices in prehistory observed that the modal age at the end of weaning was later in prehistoric hunter-gatherer populations (not considered in this study, about 4 years), than it was in those with agricultural economies (about 3 years), and that post-medieval populations weaned earliest of all (2 years) (Howcroft 2013: 57-65). However, this hypothesis has never been tested for the earliest urbanism in the Mediterranean during the first millennium BC and certainly deserves further investigation on a long-term and comparative perspective (Trigger 2003) (Figs 2 and 3).

### Conclusions and Further Research Perspectives

The analysis of the perception of infancy and childhood in central Italy during the Early Iron Age has shown that there seems to be important changes in the ways of representing infant and children within the buried community before and after the transition to urbanism at the middle of the 8th century BC.

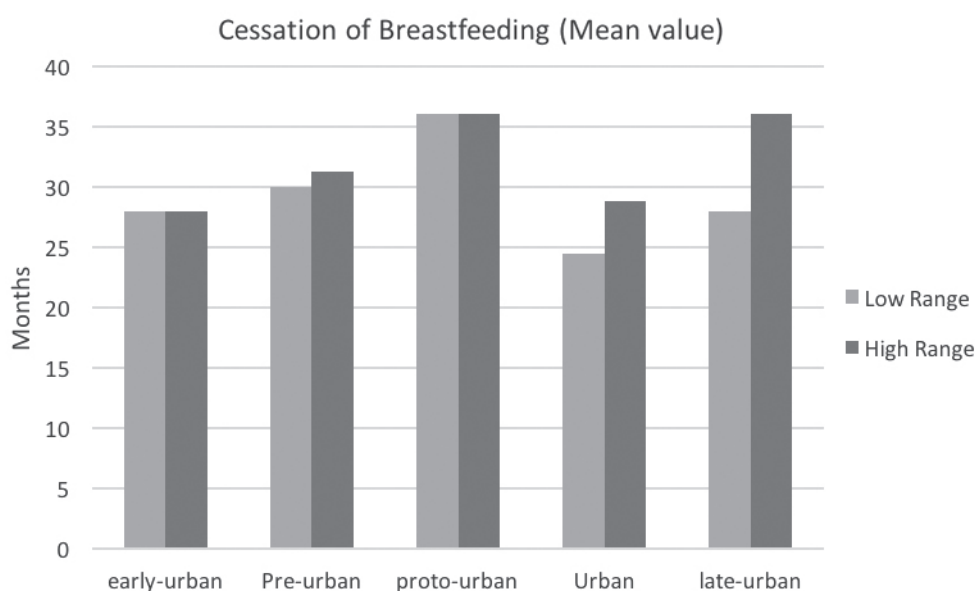
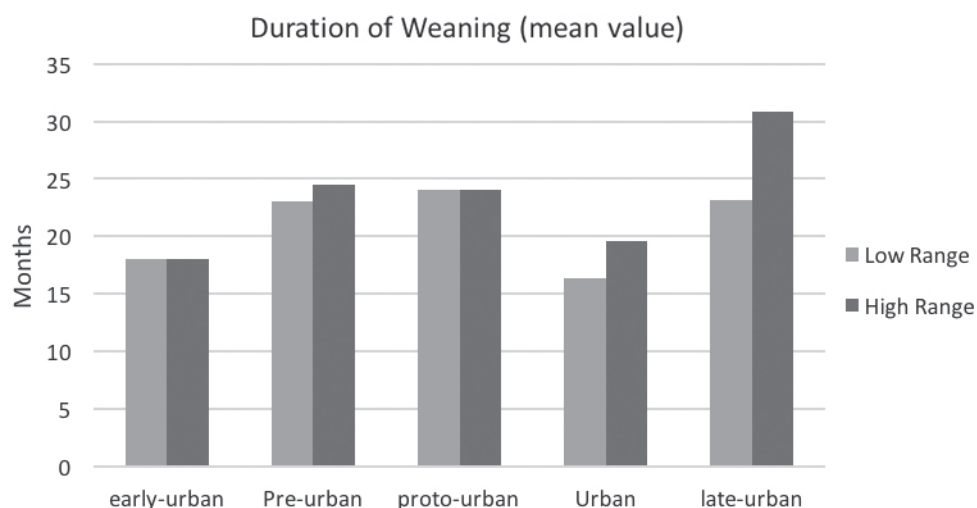


Figure 2. Cessation of breastfeeding in Europe and the Mediterranean between Prehistory and the Middle Ages according to socio-political conditions (From Fulminante, 2015, fig. 11).

Figure 3. Duration of weaning in Europe and the Mediterranean between Prehistory and the Middle Ages according to socio-political conditions (From Fulminante, 2015, fig. 12).



Firstly, while during the Early Iron Age infants and very young children are constantly underrepresented in central Italian cemeteries and seem to be excluded from formal burials or reserved in special areas such as the domestic *suggrundaria* in *Latium vetus*, with the Orientalizing Age they seem to start being included such as clearly in Pontecagnano and Pithekoussai, where they reach normal pre-industrial mortality rates of about 50%. In *Latium vetus* also the percentage increases to about 30 % with Latial Period IVB.

According to Nizzo, the changed attitude towards infant burials in Pontecagnano during the Orientalizing period testifies to the influence of Greek culture on this site after the foundation of the colonies of Pithekoussai and Cuma (Nizzo 2011: 65). While discussion is still open on the impact of external influence in central Italy, which have been downplayed in other scenarios of cultural change. Nevertheless, some aspects of social and political change, such as the inclusion of larger parts of the population (infant/children and lower status individuals) in the civic community (see Morris 1987), may have been more developed in contexts such as Greek Pithekoussai.

Secondly with the advent of urbanism and the formation of urban aristocracies status seems to become a more important discriminant in the definition of a certain funerary right than belonging to a certain age group. During the earliest phases of the early Iron Age infant below three-five years of age generally show no sign of gender or role, while children older than this age might sometime have one. Three to five years old seems to be an important threshold for a different perception of infant and children, which is confirmed by literary sources and ethnographic studies, and might be defined by a child developmental stage such as the adoption of speech (Nizzo 2011, 54-55) or the cessation of breastfeeding (Cuozzo 2003, 205). With the later phases

of the Early Iron Age become more and more common that exceptional infant of higher status are engendered and equipped with status, gender and role grave goods while others remain unidentified by their grave goods (for a similar situation in Greece see Beaumont 2013).

The study of infant feeding practices in the Mediterranean between Prehistory and the Middle Ages has shown that in many pre-historical and historical urban societies such as Neolithic Çatalhöyük (8300-7400 BP), Imperial Rome (1st-3rd century AD) or Atlantic and Continental Europe in the late Middle Ages (10th-14th century AD) mothers in urban contexts tend to breastfeed less and wean earlier. Some scholars suggested that an earlier cessation of breastfeeding would have increased fertility rates and could therefore have been a factor in demographic growth generally associated with urbanism (Haydock *et al.* 2013). There seems to be a feedback loop which is worth investigating.

On the other hand early weaning has also an impact on infant health and mortality, because milk contains a number of substances that encourage growth and protects the child from numerous pathogens, and the introduction of supplementary food could introduce dangerous intestinal parasites. Therefore, early weaning might also increase mortality rate (on infant feeding and mortality e.g. Pearson *et al.* 2010). In addition there might be other factors influencing urban demographic growth or decline such as migration, wars, mass diseases etc.

Nevertheless, the reciprocal link between infant feeding practices, children health/aging and urbanization seems to be undeniable and the different possible scenarios needs and deserves further research. Central Italy during the first Millennium BC seems to be a particularly suitable case study because it offers a number of regional entities with several different socio-



political trajectories (primary urbanization in Latium, Etruria and Campania; secondary urbanization in Umbria and Picenum, Greek colonization in Campania and Romanization in the whole peninsula) which makes the study of cultural variabilities and trends particularly interesting and fruitful.

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